1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence.

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Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones.

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[243]
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The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement.

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With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land.

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The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation.

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Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short [912] handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation [491] on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists.

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No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance [491] includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help.

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is [731] a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family [619] there. The ties with Itoman are close.

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

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In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

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There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

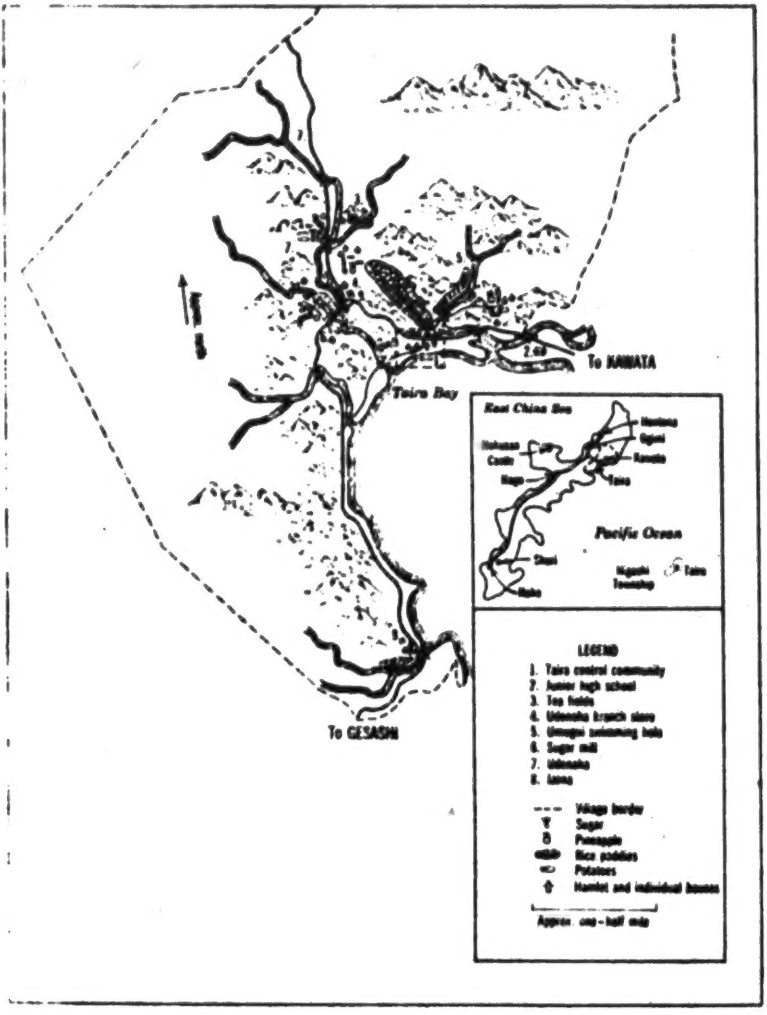
LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of



Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

between 1905 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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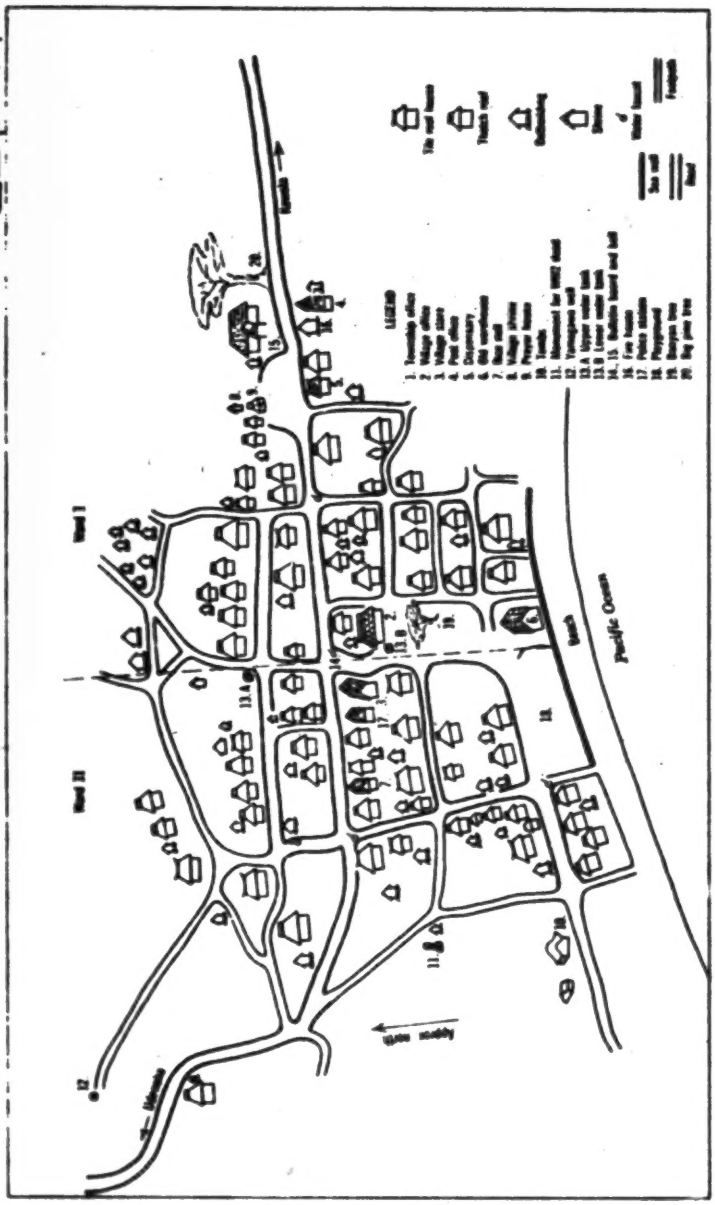

Map 2. Taira, central community.

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach
[764] to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[211] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more important in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[369] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
[391] have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[231] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[374] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[246] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.